

INTRODUCTION

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delta. The course of the Ghis slants southwestward from Targuist, while the Nekor flows directly northward through sharp canyons from the mountain of Kuin in Gsennaya, to separate, farther along, Temsaman and Beni Tuzin from Beni Urriaghel. On the other side of the promontory of Temsaman empties the Amkaran, or Wed el Kebir, which commences a short distance away in the mountains of Beni Tuzin. Next to the Amkaran lies an unimportant stream called the Tasagin, coming down from the Dhar O Baran in Beni Ulishk. Beyond this there are none but the important arteries of the Kert and the Muluya, the former of which originates in Gsennaya, the seeming umbilicus of the Rif, and the latter of which flows northward from distant Tafilelt, where its head lies near that of the Draa, a lengthy watercourse emptying into the Atlantic nearly opposite the Canary Islands.

Such is the catalogue of rivers, the waters of which are jealously guarded and conserved, and which have been the cause of many of the local wars in the Rif. [721] ●

The mountains of the Rif are supposed to be fabulously rich in minerals, including coal, iron, gold, and petroleum. None of these, however, have been extracted by the present inhabitants of the country, and hence they do not concern us here. Suspicion engendered by the presence of the minerals does more to hamper travel and research in the Rif than all other factors combined. 135

VEGETATION

It is too early in the course of Rifian research to give a complete list of botanical species from that country; no systematic botanist, as far as I know, has published any description of its flora. It will therefore have to suffice in this volume to present merely a very fragmentary roster of some of the more noticeable wild trees and bushes, such as readily meet the eye of the traveler, with local names and tentative identifications, made by observation and by analogy with the rest of North Africa. 137

CONIFERS

taidha, a tall, straight-growing conifer, with a large globular cone. This tree is much prized for house-building material. 137

taidha temjda, a similar tree, relatively stunted, with thick, wide branches. The *taidha* is found on the upper slopes of mountains; the *taidha temjda* grows on the mountain-tops and in the passes, where it is exposed to the elements: hence both may belong to the same species. (Plate I shows examples of both.)

Justinard calls the *taidha* a pine.¹ Hanoteau and Letourneau list for Algeria four species of terebinths; *Pistacia terebinthus* L., *P. Atlantica* Desf., *P. Lentiscus* L., and *Rhus pentaphylla* Desf.²

takka, another conifer, with a small, compact cone. The wood of this tree is used in making tar. (Perhaps its name is related to the Ntifa word for terebinth.³) Justinard calls this a juniper.⁴ [314]

afesaz, the scrub juniper (not to be confused with *afesaz*). Laoust postulates that the Berber root *az* indicates the idea of spines or thorns, and cites other words, in Berber dialects, which contain this root and mean juniper.⁵

¹ Commandant Justinard, *Manuel de Berbere Marocain (Dialecte Rifain)*, p. 48.

² A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneau, *La Kabylie*, vol. 1, pp. 82-83.

³ E. Laoust, *Mots et Choses Berbères*, p. 487.

⁴ Page 131.

⁵ Page 532.

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but there are few bones without allies. The allies in the tribal council draw apart as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible and start shooting at the rest of the tribal council. The bone which has refused sends messengers to talk with various councillors and to persuade them to join their side, promising money and women. In this way there are generally two sides fighting each other before the day is over, and they stay there and fight until one side has won. If the tribal council wins and succeeds in burning the house of the murderer, it burns the rest of the houses of the bones as well, and cuts down as many of its trees as it desires.

The bone then flees in a body to another *fifa*, to another tribe, or out of the Rif entirely. If the members, thinking already of vengeance, cannot stand the sight of their trees being cut down and their houses being caved in, they select a bull from the herd which they are driving into exile with them and entrust it to the leader of the mosque or to a student, who leads it back into the presence of the tribal council and slaughters it there. If this is done the tribal council is compelled to let them go back again and to permit them to pay the fine. Once the bull is slaughtered the tree-cutting and other destruction must cease. Many bones are too proud either to pay or to send a bull, so that they become destitute and homeless through their pride, providing they are not strong enough to defend themselves against the tribal council.

A bone may thus be expelled from a tribe, permanently or temporarily. A bone which is continually making trouble and causing feuds may be the subject of a special meeting of the tribal council, which decides to exile it from the tribe either permanently or for a given number of years. Killing people on Mohammedan feast days or during the month of Ramadan is one of the strongest reasons for the expulsion of a bone.

This habit of exiling bones has been going on for so long that there are today numerous colonies of exiled Rifians living outside the Rif. Such are colonies of Beni Urriaghel in Oran and in Tangier; of Beni Amart in Ain Leuh, on the Wergha; of Beni Amart and Beni Hadifa at Armeils, on Wed Teheris; of Beni Tuzin at Zerhoun; of Temjunt of Gsennaya in Ain Mediuna (Beni Gsin); of Beni Yunes of Gsennaya at el Kob, in the Senhajan tribe of Beni Ulid; and the Ulad Abd el Mumen of Iherrushen of Gsennaya at el Mta outside of Fes. Most of these exiles could now go back if they so wished, but they have been away for so long, in many cases for generations, that they no longer have any desire to return.

Sometimes a murder spreads into a feud and from a feud into a war so rapidly that before a tribal council can come together to deliberate the councillors find themselves fighting on one side or another, in a tribal war.

Murder often leads to immediate revenge, and immediate revenge to a feud between bones. The feud may be a bitter one, in fact a pitched battle, in which may join other bones allied of old to one or other of the principal combatants. Most allies, however, are made anew on the occasion of each war. An alliance is called *kiff*; it belongs more properly under the heading of magic than under that of political organisation, but must be discussed at this point if the complexities of Rifian warfare are to be understood.

A *kiff* is a shame-compulsion laid by one bone on another, a magical act which forces the second bone into alliance with, or at least toleration of, the other. By making *kiff* with a number of other bones, a bone may increase its fighting force many times, and by both sides industriously making *kiff* with others, a general war starts, in which there may not remain enough of the tribal council to make its convening worth while.

- 721 A tribal war seldom has time, however, to work itself out to its own conclusion, since other tribes in the neighborhood soon see that to take an active interest in the affair will be to their advantage.

INTER-TRIBAL WARFARE

721 If a lively internal war has broken out in the tribe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine
727 imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village, or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal councils (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *ffths* five parts, and each tribe with only one *ffth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *ffths* and single tribes take place and the councillors go home.

If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its difference quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *ffth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *ffth*, from each *canton*, and from each *bone*. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reinforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* to submit has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives its share of the fines paid as each of the other *cantons* submits. In this way all defeated *cantons* pay, and all but the last, which pays the most, receive shares of the spoils.

When the internal war is in Beni Urriaghel, Gaennaya is the first tribe to send its councillors, then Beni Amart, usually on the same day; the next day Zarket and Bokoya send their contingents, and later the *canton* Tisera n Jakhatha of Beni Tuzin and that of Sidi Bu Daud of Tamsaman. Sometimes Beni Said sends two or three councillors to join the others. Gaennaya, Beni Amart, and Bokoya usually send all their councillors, whereas Beni Tuzin, Tamsaman, and Zarket, as well as Beni Said, seldom send more than a few each. If the great council of tribes succeeds without further fighting, the councillors of Zarket, Tamsaman, Beni Tuzin, and Beni Said receive one or two hundred dollars per tribe. This money the individual councillors keep. The tribes which have come in full strength get their usual shares. If, however, it is necessary to send for reinforcements, the tribes poorly represented send for men with the rest, and after the affair has been settled their tribes receive their full shares, which are communally divided.

The tribes mentioned do not all necessarily interfere when Beni Urriaghel is fighting internally, but only if the combat promises to be extensive. The Gaennaya councillors, however, always go, and sometimes succeed in handling the situation alone. The Beni Urriaghel always band together immediately when other tribes step in, postponing settlement of their local differences until later. Beni Hadifa, nominally a *ffth* of Beni Urriaghel,

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is not required to pay its portion of the fines imposed upon Beni Urriaghel unless it has actually been involved. 721 ●

When Temsaman fights internally, Beni Tuzin, Beni Said, Gzennaya, Beni Uliashk, and Tafersit send their councillors to the great council of tribes; Beni Uliashk and Tafersit count as one in the division of the spoils. Beni Urriaghel does not send councillors to Temsaman, partly because the others will not allow it, and partly because the tribe is afraid of retaliation. 727

When the war is in Gzennaya, the Beni Urriaghel, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Marnissa, Metalsa, and Jebarna (the latter, although part of the Gzennaya, do not count as such in time of war, since they are recent immigrants from the Branes) send councillors. When the fight is centered in the *fifth* of Imsadur, Branes also sends her representatives. Temsaman sends a single councillor if the fight promises to assume large proportions.

When Beni Tuzin occupies the center of the stage, the councillors of Gzennaya, Metalsa, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Uliashk, Tafersit, and Beni Said go, and Beni Amart sends a few representatives.

When the war is in Beni Amart, Gzennaya, Marnissa, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Hadifa (acting as a separate body), and chosen members of Zarket, Bokoya, and Beni Tuzin participate.

When Bokoya is involved, the councillors of Beni Amart, Beni Urriaghel, Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, and selected members from Gzennaya, Mestassa, and Mtiwa of the Rif attend the great council of tribes. The Sherif of Targuist also is sometimes present at the final settlement, taking ten men with him as bodyguard. He does not take part in any of the fighting, but tries to use his religious influence as a means of putting an end to the bloodshed. When the fine is collected, he is usually given twenty or thirty dollars. Sometimes, however, he is ignored. Shorfa of Targuist have in the past attempted to interfere in Beni Urriaghel and Gzennaya, but without success or remuneration, for which reason they have for some time ceased paying attention to wars within these tribes. [728]

When the fight is in Beni Itteft, Beni Bu Frah, Mestassa, or Mtiwa, the others of this group send their envoys, and those from Bokoya and Beni Gmil attend as well; when the fight is in Mtiwa, Beni Khennus and Beni Seddath also participate.

When the fight is in Beni Uliashk or Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Metalsa, Temsaman, Beni Said, and Beni Mohammed and Khebaba of the Gzennaya take part.

When it is in Beni Said, Beni Tuzin, Temsaman, Beni Uliashk, Tafersit, Beni Bu Ifrur, Beni Sidel, and Gzennaya send representatives. Beni Said is the only tribe which has recognised the value of such mediation when actually in trouble, since it sends for the Gzennaya councillors to come and settle it for them. They have seldom resisted the intervention of the great council of tribes, preferring to pay the fine rather than continue a destructive internal quarrel.

Beni Bu Ifrur has not fought internally for a long time, since it is all one related group. Beni Sidel has been known to fall into such a difficulty, and Beni Said, Beni Bu Yahyi, Metalsa, and Beni Bu Ifrur, send councillors, while the sheikhs of Ait Shisher and Masusa also come. These sheikhs are given none of the proceeds. Beni Said wields the greatest influence in such gatherings.

When Beni Sidel and Beni Bu Ifrur fight together, the same alignment appears, and with the others go the sheikhs of Ulad Stut.

721 Beni Bu Yafer has fought internally upon a number of occasions, but the other groups
727 do not interfere, since they have learned from experience that the Beni Bu Yafer do not submit until after an arduous struggle, at the end of which they do not possess enough property to pay a fine worth the trouble of interfering. In consequence of this, they are not allowed to send their councillors to other tribes.

For a considerable period of time there has been no fighting worthy of intervention in Maruza, Ait Shisher, or Kebdana; this is perhaps due to the early influence of the Spaniards upon these regions.

[579] When the fighting is in Beni Bu Yahyi or Metalsa no councillors bother to go, since the
[674] land is too difficult to travel in, and since there are no houses to burn, and no property to confiscate which cannot readily be moved away before their arrival. Banditry has always been rife among these tribes, and active feuds between *bones* perpetual. Theft, in the Rif considered a crime unless practiced outside the tribe and its allies, is among the nomads an honorable profession when practiced between *bones*.

When the fight is between any of the tribal groups in the Eastern Arabophone Senhaja, the others of this group send their councillors and sheikhs, and Gzennaya as well sends councillors. In the meeting which follows Gzennaya plays the dominant rôle.

When the fight is within the Senhaja Sghir, the Sherif of Targuist betakes himself to the scene, accompanied by the councillors of the non-combatant tribes under his control. The Sherif collects the fine, keeping most of it, and distributes a small fraction of it among the councillors, who have nothing to say about the matter.

This rule does not apply to Ktama, which has never submitted to the authority of the Sherif. On account of its poverty and inaccessibility, Ktama is free from the intervention of councillors from other tribes; consequently it is in a constant state of turmoil, and banditry is common. This tribe has always been noted for its lawlessness, and has been generally avoided by travellers.

The tribes of the west, including the Western Arabophone Senhaja and the Ghomara, do not send representatives out to stop war and collect fines. This territory likewise enjoys a perennially bad reputation.

727 Some mention should be made of the ultimate disposal of money and other property taken by the various administrative bodies. Fines collected by the village council are kept by the moderator of that body for the entertainment of guests in the local mosque, for the purchase of tea, sugar, other foodstuffs, and candles for the council to use during its deliberations, and for cartridges and firearms to be used by members of the *bone* in time of war.

Fines collected by the council of the great are partly divided between the *bones*, partly given to the *fkîh* or preceptor of the cantonal mosque, and partly expended upon the upkeep of, and hospitality in, this building.

Fines collected by the tribal council are divided equally among the *fsîths* and then equally among *cantons* within the *fsîths*. The moderator of each council of the great divides the money allotted his *canton* among the councillors who participated in the events which led to its collection, and among ordinary fighting men, if these were called upon to reinforce the councillors. The moderator distributes the money publicly at one time, giving more to the men who deported themselves bravely than to those who showed but mediocre interest in the fighting. Men who manifested cowardice and men who are absent from or come late to the division get nothing.

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actual owners of the machine are allowed to do so; and he collects from them the customary divisions of the oil which they squeeze. The village council of each *bone* makes out the list and the clerk writes it down and sees that it is followed. 624 [471]

Another duty of this latter official is making out papers of adoption for strangers who come into the *bone* to live and who wish to become affiliated with it. [597]

The clerk also has charge of wills and inheritance. The head of each family may make a will on his deathbed, or at some time when he fears imminent death. To do this he summons the clerk, who writes down the terms of the bequests and takes the paper away with him. After the man has died he produces this paper, makes its contents public, and administers the estate. 624 428

Although most men, in making their wills, follow the traditional rules of inheritance, some bequeath their property unequally among their heirs, at times cutting individuals off entirely, and leave property to mosques or saints' tombs. No man is permitted, however, to disinherit his wife or wives.

In each tribe there is supposed to be a judge, appointed by the tribal council, and holding his office for life or good behavior. He has received a diploma from one of the four institutions previously mentioned. His appointment does not usually come, however, until long after his fulfilment of the requirements for this position. He is almost always a native of the tribe in which he is employed. 693

There was one in Beni Urriaghel, one in Beni Tuzin, and one in Gzennaya, at the time the Christians entered. The first judge in the Rif in modern times was Si Abd el Rahman of the Beni Yunes of the Gzennaya, who had dwelt long in Fex and married a Fezzi wife. The Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel decided, about fifty years ago, that they would like to have a judge, and therefore sent men of the Gzennaya to Fex to persuade Si Abd el Rahman to come. On the way back from Fex, the Beni Ulid, who did not know that he was a judge, attacked him and his bodyguard in the night, killing him and capturing his wife and children. What remained of the bodyguard returned to the Rif and called together a great council of the tribes of Gzennaya, Beni Urriaghel, Temsaman, Beni Tuzin, Beni Amart, Beni Ulishk, Beni Said, and Metalsa. All these councillors, with their retainers, invaded Beni Ulid and devastated it, taking back the prisoners and loot, and exacting a fine of four thousand five hundred dollars. 693 721

Si Abd el Rahman's eldest son was made judge in his place, after him his brother, and after his brother his sons, in turn. Beni Urriaghel and Beni Tuzin later each established a judge, certified by that of Beni Yunes. Several others were set up and deposed in later times. 693

Every year each *f/ta* presents the judge with a cow, five or six goats, and large quantities of all staple agricultural products. The judge in this way receives a large income, but is expected to spend most or all of it on hospitality. He settles disputes concerning landed property. Contestants bring their papers of ownership to him, and he decides which one really owns the property, then signs and seals the paper of the winner. The plaintiffs bring him presents of meat and sugar — any further gift would be considered bribery.

In the Senhaja Sghir the Sherif of Targuist acts as judge, except in Taghsuth, where there has been a judge for generations. Until the time of Abd el Krim, however, the judge of Taghsuth was influenced by the Sherif of Targuist.

adequate provisions, sanctioned by custom, for its apportionment had not been made long ago. Because of the relative constancy of its flow, those who irrigate with its waters know that the quantity they can expect is more or less the same at any time of year. Thus the *qānūns* dealing with irrigation in the Lower Ghis specifically state that any man who purchases land there must buy his irrigation turn independently. Due to the fact that these *qānūns* have been drawn up in Arabic by the *'adūl* or notaries public for all to see and abide by, and to the additional fact that all the land on both banks of the river belongs to Aith Wuryāghil, disturbances of social equilibrium about irrigation water there, although far from uncommon, have been considerably less great than they might have been. 312
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The Nakūr, however, is something else again. Although it irrigates about eight times as much land as the Ghis, it nevertheless loses much of its potential through infiltration. While in winter I have seen it overflow its banks during a heavy storm, it becomes reduced to a muddy little creek in summer. Owing to its volume capacity, however, its irrigation *qānūns*, in this case unwritten, provide that anyone who buys land there automatically has a right to irrigation water as well, because most of the year there is a sufficient quantity for all. But the hitch is that Nakūr water irrigates not only Aith Wuryāghil but Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān as well. Although the Spanish administration has fixed the river as the boundary between Aith Tuzīn and Tamsamān on the east bank and Aith Wuryāghil on the west, individuals and families from each of these three tribes still own land on the bank opposite them. In the past the river functioned less as a boundary than as a zone of transition, and because of the unclear but traditional and conservative application of customary law, there was ample opportunity for feuds to develop, which they did with great frequency, particularly in summer when the water supply was low. The *shaikh ar-fijjāhath* (Ar. *shaikh al-fillāh*) or *aquicām* of each of the opposing tribes met to parley in case of a blatant infraction of custom, such as getting water out of turn; he was backed up by his respective constituents, all of whom were armed to the teeth. In case of a general melee, Aith Wuryāghil, being the most powerful, usually won, particularly if Tamsamān and Aith Tuzīn were in disagreement with one another. 312
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This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

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Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

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The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of ingharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)¹⁰. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzyan (or aith umzyan?)¹¹ who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

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When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

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11--The concept of aith umzyan or imzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

721 was imposed by the tribe or the clan: it was based on distribution
621 amongst the several dharrfiqin comprising the jma'th in question, while
613 the place and date where and when they had to present themselves was
communicated to them by the leader of the expedition, who also examined
cases of exemption and desertion.

Thus, both in theory and in reality, all the operations of re-
cruitment of our European municipalities were incumbent upon the
jma'th; while relief and provisions, the personal and complementary
obligation of the dharrfiqth, were sometimes assumed by the jma'th when
the earlier operations failed, as a kind of advance.

721 This natural system, alleviating the principal one of a number
182 of onerous chores which are discharged by (military) services in
European bureaucracies, permitted the Rifians to give their full atten-
tion both to military operations and to politics. It bound all of
them together, the front and the rearguard, in a common interest, prin-
cipally economic, which in lieu of discipline was what reinforced
local spirit. The economic interest (the saving of ammunition in
combat and sobriety in eating--for the individual had to pay for both
out of his own pocket), apart from avoiding not a little dissatisfac-
tion and worry, afforded the harka a high degree of addiction to
rapine, given the fact that its members had to live on their own ac-
count in enemy territory in order to compensate for the woes of
consignments of the wretched rearguard, justifying through its well-
known raids its desire to fill its stomach, the clearest of all its
bellicose undertakings. Such that, once the booty was obtained, the
harka was dissolved on more than one occasion.

634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
619 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
692 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured
681 parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside
circle).^{2 & 3}

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which
all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare....
Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities.
This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is
theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life
expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared be-
forehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have
been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for
every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take
over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through
reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

628 they send out a couple of individuals to care for their relatives (in
721 their absence) and tell them what has happened, and by day, they have
to feed them, after which, once this is done, they start the march
toward the enemy group in order to deliver the coup de main either at
once or through careful skirmishing.

There is no top command, for, as the objective is clear, it
is not needed. All that must be done is to write finis to the enemy.
Individual desertion is shameful, booty is eagerly anticipated, and
members of the war-party do not worry about the fact that there are
neither rearguard services nor defense.

B) Harkas and their Formation (fragmentary):

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[689] The obligation to serve in a harka or war-party was general
and accepted by all, and avoidance of harka duty was an object of
censure and sanction. Any and all groups which were threatened (both
internally and externally) provided variable contingents which were
activated periodically. Until protectorate times, punitive expeditions
organized by the Moroccan Sultans to chastise recalcitrant tribesmen
were augmented by auxiliary harkas made up from the tribes through
[648] whose territory the expeditions passed. A good example was the foray
undertaken by Bushta al-Baghdadi, one of the fin de siècle commanders
of the Moroccan army, against the pirates of the Ibuquyen in 1898⁴.
701 More recently, 'Abd al-Krim solicited harkas for individual engage-
ments; he maintained a reduced contingent, which was periodically in-
creased, under arms. The system was one of partial mobilization with
relief contingents, the number and amount of which were fixed by
'Abd al-Krim. Their recruitment and provisions were handled by their

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted
truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
195 inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
203 ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alli-
ances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater effi-
cacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their
notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and
valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14)
for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being
that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
921 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
182 independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ
of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

Rif MX3

The Land of Insolence Village of Urad 'Abd el-Mumin]
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623 minor points of difference, the men let them arbitrate and set fines
867 of a few eggs or loaves of bread, for their own consumption. Having thus learned the routine of sitting in judgment and also some of the oral qanūns, the boys are ready for the serious business ahead.

623 Once a week, when the nearest market meets, the older men of
627 the neighboring villages, corresponding to the "brains" of the Kabyles, meet in a house just off the grounds, or in good weather, under a tree. Over glasses of tea they settle any disputes which may come up in the market or which litigants may bring them. When
628 more serious matters arise, such as the trouble between the Urad 'Abd
619 el-Mumin and the Beni Tadmūt, the councilors of a single geographical unit, consisting of several clans, come together. They must be fed, and it is in the interest of the feuding parties to make a speedy settlement, with fines and blood money. Fines go to the councilors, who eat part and divide the rest. Blood money goes to the kin of the wounded or dead. If these councilors cannot settle the problem, the "fifth" is invoked—the whole series of little valleys and watershed cantons which forms the next largest political unit. Some tribes have only one "fifth," but Gzennaya and Beni Urriaghel each have five. If the "fifth" cannot settle the dispute, and the bloodshed spreads, then all the fifths join in. If the whole tribe is embroiled, the councilors of another tribe may invade and catch them unawares, to their great loss. The longer the fight remains unsettled the greater the number of participants, each new and larger body trying to capitalize on the confusion of the partisans.

It can be readily seen that few troubles reach intertribal proportions. This device of government in depth works. Feuding keeps the population down, and the fear of interference keeps the feud isolated and within bounds. Chronic troublemakers, and those who break the rules, must go. On the other hand when some outside force threatens more than a small portion of the Rif, the mechanism is at hand for all to unite, forcefully if ephemerally. The elders of one clan perform a compulsion of shame on another, thus forcing them into alliance, called *lif*, as elsewhere. As the danger grows, so
643 does the *lif*. In this manner 'Abd el-Krīm (who had been educated by
721 the Spaniards) set up a government of the whole Rif, which defeated Spain in two great battles in 1921 and 1924, and but for the use of aircraft and tanks by his enemy, might have held the French army indefinitely at bay. No sultan had ever been able to conquer this classic corner of the Land of Insolence, which is all the more remark-

Rif my 3

Pathan

Caravan

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able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, 'Abd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of 'Abd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.* Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga*, or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arba'in, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller *jirgas*, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the *amin* of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

* See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908*.

/240 cont./

628 But in these less wild regions, the periods of calm are never-
182 theless short and do not leave these rudimentary institutions
642 /241/ time to perfect themselves. Anarchy and fights by fam-
ilies infuriated by vengeance have never permitted the Riffians
to know a government by regularly elected leaders, changed in
628 turn, or the use of common funds. Only the holy-war treasuries,
652 organized by pious establishments, existed at all times. Hate
721 for the Christian can indeed dominate the strongest feelings;
798 whatever may be the violence of the disputes that divide them,
182 the notables always agree enough to go shares in small sums of
money intended for the purchase of bullets in order to go to aim
at the detested soldiers of the "Peñon" /Rock/ of Alhucemas or
Badès (1).

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1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins
algéro-marocains /The Algero-Mo-
roccan Borders/, p. 89 and sqq.

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XII. The republics of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- It is above
all between the social organization of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ be-
fore the French conquest and that of the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ that it is possible to multiply the comparisons in order to
find profound analogies under the apparent differences. It is easy,
as a matter of fact, to see that the small republics of the Tichka
or of the Jbel Kest, sequestered in the high valleys of the South of
Morocco, and the ones that have grown and prospered on the sum-
mits of the Djurjura live with similar institutions, share the same
positive and limited ideal, suffer from identical ills, and are sub-
ject to the same rules of existence, to the same laws of develop-
ment.

The territory of the "arch" is, as we have seen, equivalent
to that of a small "taqbilt" of the Sous; both form, in the free
state, autonomous and often even independent political units.
But in one of the regions the slight density of the population of a
country where human life is difficult, in the other the

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648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

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726 Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [648] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. [616] [634] It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed 'Abdallah of the Ija'ounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesa'oud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

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[171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by [171] the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all [681] when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [434] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from [614] among the strongest "tarfiq" chiefs and bind them to them by [581] marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

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• 721 At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when 'Abd el Kerim, his relatives and companions [634] from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the [648] command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the [669] surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight

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against the Christians, the amghars, aided by the marabouts, try to take back the power that escapes them; it is they who will direct the revolt of 1924, which for a time will threaten the work of the Riffian chief. Defeated in that supreme endeavor, they will perish, the majority by poison or in the dungeons of Ajdir and Tamassint.

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In spite of the real power that the amghars of the Rif can succeed in obtaining, their authority nevertheless remains precarious. Based entirely on force, born amidst the conflict of unstable leffs, deprived of the support of oligarchic traditions, it exists only very rarely after the disappearance of the one who created it. The hostile forces directed by the anarchic clans and the marabouts rapidly stop their endeavor. The social material appears too rebellious; so the rough outline of personal power remains unfinished; the amghar succeeds in asserting himself only in his canton of origin; we do not see him succeed anywhere, by the force of his power alone, in breaking the narrow frontiers of the fraction, /297/ the boundaries of a leff, and in conquering a true tribe. [721] 'Abd el Kerim alone in this region, carried by other forces, [648] will succeed, thanks to the enthusiasm of the holy war, in establishing a powerful domination and in founding for a time a true Berbère /Berber/ state.

000 XIII. The chiefs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- Masqueray has studied well the difficult conditions in which the authority of the soff chief whose ambition is to conquer supreme power in his tribe can develop in Kabylie /Kabylia/. The political state of the villages of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, divided into two hostile parties, almost always balanced, but which are ceaselessly renewed and do not have the permanence of the leffs of the Mas-mouda, is no more favorable than the anarchic Rif for the establishment of a strong and stable personal power.

Nevertheless the analogies between the Kabylie /Kabylia/ and the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ remain numerous: Rich and brave, the future amghar in the Djurjura begins by being only the head of a family or of a soff. When his party wins, it remains for him to have his effective superiority accepted by the members of